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The Two Faces of Billary

by Murray N. Rothbard

Saint...

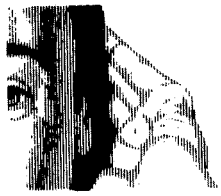
By the last week in May, both the public and the media image of Billary Clinton was splitting radically into its two constituent parts, or faces: Saint and Sinner; the Good, and if not quite yet the *Evil* Twin, at least he's getting there.

The Saint, of course, is our exalted Madam president, La Rodham. At the very same time that the approval rating, and the image, of Slick Willie is dropping like a stone, and the media are getting increasingly disgusted with him, Hillary is literally being elevated to sainthood.

The canonization of Saint Hillary was consummated in the May 23 issue of the *New York Times Magazine*, which features an article by Michael Kelly entitled "Saint Hillary," replete with a full-page painting of Hillary tricked out as Saint Joan. Chillingly, the article contains only a modicum of irony; indeed, it is a highly admiring depiction of Hillary as leading the charge for "something on the order of a Reformation: the remaking of the American way of politics, government, indeed life." A tall order, especially since some of us have always thought that the First Reformation was tough enough to handle. But we are sternly warned in the article not to mock this effort, a noble effort to embark on a "politics of virtue." For Hillary has set out to "make things right," to reform the world, to "make the world a better place." Hillary Rodham is a living example of the Failure of the American Educational System, much more so than the shiv-wielding illiterate young goons who stalk the halls and classrooms of our nation's public school system. For she is the embodiment of (God help us!) the half-educated Best and Brightest of our system, trained at Wellesley and Yale to their divine right to run the world. Talked out of her parents, Goldwaterism at Wellesley and by her hometown Methodist preacher, she

(Cont. Page 4, col.3)

The Saint is our exalted Madam president, La Rodham.



THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

Thanks to my gossip sister Liz Smith for this one: Geraldine Barr, sister of the notorious Roseanne, was fired by Roseanne in 1990, perhaps for siding with their parents on the "child sexual abuse" charges. Geraldine is trying to peddle her HOT Tell All book about Roseanne, and yet no publisher will touch it. Why? Because Roseanne is just about the "most powerful woman in the

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(THE EAR cont. from pg. 1)
world." Are there no courageous book publishers out there? Inquiring Minds are dying to know!

* * * * *

A friend of mine recently ran into Dave Boaz, veep of a certain D.C. institute. "What do you think of the Mises Institute?" my friend asked Boaz pleasantly. Well! My friend was goggle-eyed as Dave flipped whatever is left of his wig. "The Mises Institute," Dave fumed, "is racist, sexist, homophobic, right-wing totalitarian, the most evil organization in America today. " Wow! All this and Heaven, too! With enemies like Boaz, who needs friends?

* * * * *

Big literary soap opera of the decade was the overflowing San Francisco libel trial between two unusually repellent literary lions; Dr. Jeffrey Moussaief Masson vs. long-time *New Yorker* writer Janet Malcolm.

One longer-term revelation in the trial is the questionable editorial practices indulged in at *The New Yorker,* which prides itself on its fact-checking and modestly bills itself "perhaps the greatest magazine that ever was."

Janet Malcolm's less than ruthless editor, for example, turns out to be her husband, Gardner Botsford. This indulgence might be due to the fact that Botsford, in turn, is the stepson of one of the Fleischmanns, the multimillionaire family which founded the magazine and owned it for many decades.

Nowadays, the euphemism is "networking"....

* * * * *

Not the least delicious aspect of the late May meltdown of the Clinton Administration was Aspingate—the glamorous Italian vacation taken by Defense Secretary Les Aspin and 31 aides, mainly at taxpayer expense. Aspin's four-day vacation was taken at the ultra-posh $400-a-night Danieli Hotel in Venice, where Les's top nine aides stayed at taxpayer expense, while twenty-two lesser aides ran up taxpayer tabs at smaller Venice hotels. Estimated total for the jaunt: $20,000.

Making the occasion more piquant is the fact that the 52- year-old Aspin frolicked at the Danieli with a girl friend. It is true that Aspin and his inamorata paid their own hotel bill, and that the girl friend is planning to reimburse the government $1,100 for the return flight with Les on his official plane, but of course these reimbursements, at commercial rates, always far underestimate the actual cost of the government flight to the overburdened taxpayers.

Aspin frolicked at the fancy hotel with a girl friend, courtesy of the taxpayers.

The media have been disgustingly protective of said girl friend, but her name has been disclosed to the panting public by the *New York Daily News.* The blond tootsie is 38-year-old Sharon Sarton, surprise! surprise! a top executive of a defense contractor, Scot Forge Co. of Illinois. The two lovebirds met in the mid-1980's, when Aspin was the powerful head of the House Armed Services Committee, and Sharon was a lobbyist for her firm. Sharon's lobbying was obviously highly persuasive, since Scot Forge, since the two met, has been awarded over $6 million of Army contracts for M-1 tank parts. When asked by a Wisconsin reporter whether the close relationship of Les and Sharon had any bearing on Scot Forge's contracts, Sharon grew indignant: "I really resent this," and claimed that all of the contracts has been obtained via competitive bidding.

Yeah, sure, Sharon, tell us another. Hey, shouldn't there be some sort of conflict-of-interest law about frolicking with lobbyists?

* * * * *

THE hot gossip in Libertarian Party circles is the increasingly open affair between national chairman Mary Gingell and national secretary Joe Dehn, her close political ally. Flaky Mary, who had left her husband Bill Evers and their two children to skip to Florida to live with her childhood sweet-

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heart and was then shipped back to San Francisco in a few months, is now divorced from Evers, but the dour and abrasive Randian Dehn is very much married to the formidable Natalie.

The odd thing is that this alleged affair is being made a big thing of by Gingell-Dehn's political enemy in the LP, the pit bull blowhard Steve Givot, of Illinois, the head of the LP's "pragmatic," anti-principle wing. The peculiar point is that sexual peccadilloes are scarcely a talking point within the LP, who hardly care who or what is mating with vegetable, animal, or mineral. So either Givot is making a big miscalculation, or else he knows something juicy which may even rock the jaded LPers. We'll keep you posted.

* * * *

Speaking of the LP, it has managed to snare Republican Senator Orren Hatch to speak at their Labor Day national convention at Salt Lake City. Very strange. Does Senator Hatch know how flaky and immoral the LP really is? Come to think of it, from rumors I've heard over the years about Hatch, maybe his affinity for these lifestyle freaks is not so strange after all!

* * * *

The last political thing the billionaire Left-libertarian Koch brothers got involved in was the term-limit movement, which almost won in Washington State until an enterprising *New York Times* reporter disclosed the Kochian deep-pockets behind this "grass roots" movement. Even after the Koch pullout, however, elements of the old Koch-Crane machine remained heavily involved, led by wealthy New York real estate tycoon Howie Rich.

One of the two national term-limit outfits, however, Americans to Limit Congressional Terms (ALCT), made the big boo-boo of using, for their fund-raising direct mail, the notorious Richard Viguerie, whose operations have the strange tendency of bankrupting his clients while fattening his own coffers. Sure enough, ALCT was driven into bankruptcy, and who should turn up as ALCT's whining spokesman, but board member Eric O'Keefe, former Koch-Crane satrap as national director of the Libertarian Party. ALCT in bankruptcy owes Viguerie $1.2 million, while being left with only $25,000 in assets. But O'Keefe should have known better, if he had any smarts. Once again, Kochians strike out when they try to act in the real world of politics.

* * * * *

Shucks! I hate to put down juicy gossip, but Peter Maas, veteran Mafia-watcher, author of *The Valachi Papers*, and longtime opponent of the late J. Edgar Hoover, has a devastating review of the Anthony Summers book on Hoover as homosexual and cross-dresser in the May *Esquire*. The alleged evidence on the Hoover-Tolson photographs, according to Maas, is "garbage," and Maas's Mafia sources echo this view. As for Susan Rosenstiel, the author of the Hoover-in-a-dress story, this long-known account is simply not "credible," according to Maas.

Maas's explanation of Hoover's failure to go against Lansky and the Mafia is far more convincing, though, alas! less fun, than Summers's lurid tale of blackmail. Hoover, he says, was just a typical "bureaucrat," and, as such, wanted to record successes and not failures, and he knew that charges against the Mafia were too difficult to stick, and get a conviction. So he took the easy route.

Well, it was fun while it lasted!

* * * * *

Attention was properly focussed on two outrageous Clintonian appointments to top jobs in the Justice Department—Lani Guinier, in charge of "civil rights," who wants to entrench minority rule by blacks and other "oppressed" against the majority ("democracy," anyone?); and Webster Hubbell, old Arkansas friend of the Clintons, who helped run the Branch Davidian assault, but there is danger of overlooking a third appointee. Boston attorney Eleanor Dean Acheson has been named assistant A-G for policy development. And yet, no one seems to care that Acheson flunks the "Zoe Baird test," having failed to pay Social Security taxes for a housekeeper for nearly eight years.

The difference? The unfortunate Zoe had no friends in the White House, while Acheson has been "an intimate" of Hillary for nearly twenty-five years.

As I always say: it all depends on whom you know, and how "intimately."

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* * * * *

As the Ear reported last month, our prez spent the evening before his Yeltsin summit with dirty-movie star Sharon Stone. Now, at a Democratic Party fundraiser, he rearranged the seating to place her next to him.

* * * * *

Pat Buckley, wife of Bill, complained about the travails of flying to Switzerland with their three King Charles Spaniels. SwissAir only allows one dog per section of the aircraft. "It drives me crazy," she phoned from Gstaad. "I travel in first, Bill travels in second, and my maid travels in tourist. Halfway through the trip, we all change places." (Thanks to the *Washington Monthly*.)

Did you ever wonder how the media found out about Hairgate?

* * * * *

The neoconservative National Center for Public Policy Research, claiming that blacks were "alarmed and outraged" by the nomination of the aformentioned Webster Hubbell—former law partner and pal of Hillary, and the spitting image of Chelsea. When he was nominated for the #3 post in the "Justice" Department, the NCPRR demanded that the Senate reject him because he belonged to a white country club in Little Rock. The neocons' PaulWeyrich, joined in. Hubb's character is "unfit," they say, because white social organizations are immoral. Black social organizations, on the other hand, are examples of "diversity."

* * * * *

Hey—did you ever wonder how the media found out about Hairgate, probably the single most damaging event in the great May meltdown of Slick Willie? It turns out that hairgate was leaked to the media by the p.r. people of Cristophe, the Clinton family hairdresser who was simply *furious* at Hillary's deserting him and getting her new do at the Frenchman Frederic Fekkai's salon at New York's Bergdorf Goodman.

Isn't that great, and doesn't it also confirm the "stereotype" about how very bitchy hairdressers can be?

And by the way, if Cristophe's nifty do helped save Hillary's image during the campaign, and made her look like a svelte matron, don't you think that the new power do of Fekkai's makes her look very dykey? Is this more the True Hillary?

Thanks for this great item to the wonderful Page Six of the *New York Post*. ■

(TWO FACES cont. from pg.1)
discovered alienation and the Social Gospel with Paul Tillich, and the admonition not to be reluctant to wield Power in the service of the Good as explained by that other malignant Protestant clergyman of the 20th century, Reinhold Niebuhr. Mix that with the multi-cultural, multi- gendered New Age, and we have the new Religious Left, the cosmic Do-Gooder armed with the Sword of St. Joan, Isabel Paterson's Humanitarian with the Guillotine. We have, in short, Saint Hillary and her legions from Hell.

Hillary was always the media's darling, not Willie; and it is almost painfully clear that Willie is only useful as Hillary's Road to Power. And the great thing is that, like other First Ladies of the Past, Hillary has the glamor and the bully pulpit without the accountability, without paying for the screw-ups as their spouses must inevitably pay. And so the media can keep burnishing the image of their Heroine without any errors to distract them. It is the First Husband who must make the compromises and mess things up in the real world, while Saint Eleanor or Hillary remains unsullied.

Unlike the arduous process in the Catholic Church, the media's canonization of Hillary took a mere year-and-a-half; and you can bet there was no Devil's Advocate allowed to sully the premises. Phase One was the aging grad student-Lady Macbeth; she of the long hair and the headband. The glowering co-president in waiting. Quickly, the adoring

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media, with the aid of the now notorious Cristophe, transformed Hillary into the stylish blond matron, baking cookies, and looking uncannily like a thinner Tipper Gore. No sooner did Inauguration Day hit, when this Phase Two was replaced by the old-co-President, though in Phase Three Lady Macbeth has been miraculously transmuted into Saint Hillary, with her mission to save and change the world. This Religious Left mission is out of the old Social Gospel and by New Age theologians from Tillich to Hillary's latest religious mentor, the pro-war peacenik Michael Lerner, goopy editor of *Tikkun*, and coiner of Hillary's latest beloved phrase, "the politics of meaning." The old Social Gospellers set out to use the State to "make America" and later the world "holy," and the current Religious Left, while it would never use the word "holy," treats the rest of us with even more of the same overweening coercive arrogance.

The Clintons as embodiment of the Religious Left had already been remarked on by John Judis (favorably) in the *New Republic*, early in the new Administration; and, with magnificent scorn and bitterness, by humorist Fran Lebowitz, in her Inauguration Day interview in the *New York Times*.

But it's not only the Left. While the conservative rank-and-file have the proper loathing for Hillary, not so the Official Conservative leaders. One day, flipping on C-Span, what should I come across but a *National Review* press conference in Washington evaluating the Hundred Days. The big shots, Buckley & O'Sullivan, were not there, but the second-rankers were out in force: publisher Ed Capano, president Tom Rhodes, and, for the female angle, Kate Walsh O'Beirne. Featured was senior editor Bill Bennett. Everyone was scornful of Clinton, and I was actually having a pleasant time—virtually the only such program (except for Rush Linbaugh) in many a moon, when suddenly my peace was shattered. For one (female) reporter asked the panel what they thought of Hillary over the First Hundred Days, and *all* of them—Bennett, O'Beirne, etc.—chorused respectfully: Oh, she's a definite plus. Very Good. Etc. Drat! Is there to be no surcease?

So hold on to your hats, folks, for Saint Hillary has come to work her will upon us. But look, if she's *really* supposed to be Saint Joan, a few little details have to be gotten out of the way. Let's see, first, she has to be burned at the stake. Hey, this is beginning to sound pretty good....

...and Sinner

But meanwhile, the news is looking very good for inveterate Clinton-haters. The third week in May was a spectacular week for us: kicking off with the excellent Boren-Johnston proposal to scrap the rotten energy tax, cut some of the income tax increases, and put caps on some entitlement programs. When even loyal Democrats are kicking over the traces—next came Rep. Dave McCurdy of Oklahoma—this early in a Democrat Administration, things are really falling apart. There is even a good chance that the energy tax will go the way of the "stimulus package," and if that happens the entire nightmare Clinton "economic plan" could go down the tube.

But this was only the beginning of the week. Next came the Clinton nomination to the powerful post of Asst. Attorney-General for civil rights, none other than the horrendous lantern-jawed multicultural (half-black, half-Jewish) ultra-leftist Professor Lani Guinier. La Lani turns out to be Beyond Quotas and into Black Calhounism, that is, *one* minority—black—deserves to have veto power to trump majority rule. So awful is La Lani that even as moderate a civil rightster as Clint Bolick is taking the lead in opposing her nomination, and there is a good chance that she might be stopped in her tracks, and sent back to that well-known hellhole, the University of Pennsylvania.

(As an old Columbia man myself, I used to sing an entire song devoted to a blistering critique of the University of Pennsylvania, which ended with the malediction:

To Hell, to Hell with Pennsylvania
(Repeat)
(Repeat)
To Hell with U. of P., Pee-yew!)

Next came a magnificent one-two punch of self-destruction by our beloved President.

There was the brutal firing of the White House Travel Office, heavy with the unproven implication of crookery by these career officials. One new revel-

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ation piled on top of another, as peckerwood cronyism went cheek-by-jowl with politicizing of the revered FBI. It turned out that the skids had been greased for these travel officials by a memo sent from Arkansas by William Jefferson's cousin, the kid Catherine Cornelius, who promptly replaced the Martyred Seven, and that lobbying had been done for this brutal change by the Clintons' big Hollywood (ex-Arkansan), pal, Harry Thomason, who enjoys a "residential pass" to the White House. It also turns out that Harry's altruistic gesture was performed on behalf of his business partner in a travel agency. And then the FBI was hastily called in to try to smear the Travel Office Seven, the head of which blubbered effectively on television that none of his people was a crook.

Clinton, Steph, and the rest reacted with their usual odious pattern of defensive smears, lies, evasions, and grudging backtracking.

Worst of all, from the media standpoint, was La Cornelius's original memo, long before the alleged financial irregularities allegedly discovered at the Travel Office, charging that office with being "overly pro-press." Since Clinton had treated his adoring media attendants viciously from the beginning of his reign, this was the last straw.

The media people love Clinton ideologically, but they are, after all, human, and they resent being kicked around. Fortunately this is going to help Bring Slick Willie Down. For the bitter press are no longer disposed to cover for Willie, which means that the American public are going to be allowed in on more and more of the truth.

And while Little Rock's World Wide Travel was booted out of the Travel Office less than 24 hours after they were installed, as of this writing 25-year old Cousin Cornelius ("distant" cousin though she may be) is still there running the show. (And, *what*, by the way, has Cousin Cornelius been doing with her short life before she got to be White House Travel Chieftain?)

Coincident with the Travel Office scandal, which got the media where it hurt, came the Haircut Incident, which got to the American masses. Holding up runways at LAX, holding up planes going in or out, holding up traffic to and from the airport, to rush in the Belgian hair-stylist Cristophe to give Our Ruler a $200 haircut while sitting in the plane?! That down-home guy who wolfs down Big Macs? Tying up traffic and planes for a 200-dollar haircut by some Frog? (Efforts to explain that, well, it wasn't really 200 hundred dollars, because no one knows *how much* because the whole family has the Frog on hair-styling retainer, scarcely mended matters with the American masses.) The more Steph and the others tried to explain, the more the American public was disgusted.

And then, in the same week, the *Washington Post*, out for blood, disclosed two more neglected matters. Even after the haircut flap, Slick Willie sat on the tarmac in a plane at Los Alamos and had some lesser hair-stylist trim his sideburns and *apply makeup*. Let the American masses start hearing about their formerly beloved Down-Home Willie getting makeup much more often, and they are going to start making possibly unfair connections with Willie's unpopular gays-in-the military stance.

And then there was an even more troubling incident revealed by the *Post:* the curious episode in New Hampshire where White House aide Dave Anderson insisted that a beauteous Manchester, New Hampshire, TV anchor-lady named Nanette Hansen personally apply makeup to the President before he would grant her an interview! So mortified and "uncomfortable" was Nanette Hansen that she mentioned the incident in a later newscast, prompting a personal apology from Anderson's White House boss Jeff Eller.

But what was really going on here? Was Slick Willie pulling a Jack Kennedy? Was this personal makeup bit a sample of Slick Willie's not-so-slick seduction technique?

And finally, there were Willie's vicious "jokes" at the correspondents' dinner attacking Rush Limbaugh and Senator Dole, both of which fell flat, and damaged Clinton's image as a Good Ole Boy-Smiler.

More and more, self-indulgent Prince Willie is beginning to look like a bush-league version of some Roman Emperor.

As if all this weren't enough, this was the week that Willie finally caved on Bosnia, grievously disappointing all the expectant legion of neocons that

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were ready to send thousands of American troops to fight and die to impose "democracy" in the mountains of Bosnia.

Maybe it's my congenital optimism peeping through, but I detect the strong smell of death pervading the Clinton Administration; everything is unraveling, going sour, going wrong. Nothing has been passed, and everything has gone sour on every front, from Zoe Baird to the gays-in-the military to the wacko socialistic Economic Plan to Bosnia to the feds' bonfire of Christians at Waco to the marvelous May peccadilloes to which the public personally and strongly relates. And when Willie tried to recoup matters by going back to his Permanent Campaign and his lousy Town Meetings, he was met at San Diego with chants and placards: "CLINTON-GORE, GONE IN FOUR!" And this was his HONEYMOON period!

Bob Dole has been proven prophetic: this was the briefest and most unpleasant honeymoon since the Bride of Lammermoor.

So what can we do about it, except keep the pressure on? Do we have to wait for Four Years? Why can't we Think the Unthinkable; why can't we Impeach the bum?

But, you say, what high crimes and misdemeanours has Willie committed, that would justify his impeachment and ouster from office? But this misconceives the situation. The fact is, Clinton can be impeached on any grounds; we don't have to wait for his disobeying the law, or for a Watergate break in. Willie Clinton can be impeached and convicted and ousted for being precisely what he is: a blankety-blank smirking, yuppified, lying, evading, womanizing, power-loving, hyper-energetic, multi-cultural, messianic, peckerwood Menshevik. Isn't that enough?

Ever since he got into office, William Jefferson Clinton has been racing around like a chicken-without-a head. Feeling the heady rush of power, he and his yuppie buddies have been staying up all night at the White House, "grazing," eating pizzas, in and out of each other's offices, with one plan after another on how to run and ruin our lives. So heady has this rush been that he has been racing around, "unfocused," trying to do a million things on every front,

Rating Senate Republicans

On May 4, Senate Republicans faced a crucial test: whether or not to elevate the monstrous Environmental Protective Agency to Cabinet status, as a Department of the Environment. Unfortunately, they flunked that test, 26 Republicans voting Yes, 14 voting No, and 3 not voting. The heroic 14 get a "+", the 26 a "—" and the three non-voters a "0."

Alaska		**Maine**		**Pennsylvania**	
Murkowski	—	Cohen	—	Specter	—
Stevens	0				
		Minnesota		**Rhode Island**	
Arizona		Durenberger	—	Chafee	—
McCain	—				
		Mississippi		**South Carolina**	
Colorado		Lott	—	Thurmond	+
Brown	—	Cochran	—		
				South Dakota	
Delaware		**Missouri**		Pressler	+
Roth	—	Bond	—		
		Danforth	+	**Texas**	
Florida				Gramm	+
Mack	—	**Montana**			
		Burns	—	**Utah**	
Georgia				Bennett	+
Coverdell	—	**New Hampshire**		Hatch	+
		Gregg	—		
Idaho		Smith	+	**Vermont**	
Kempthorne	+			Jeffords	—
Craig	+	**New Mexico**			
		Domenici	—	**Virginia**	
Indiana				Warner	0
Coats	—	**New York**			
Lugar	0	D'Amato	—	**Washington**	
				Gorton	—
Iowa		**North Carolina**			
Grassley	—	Faircloth	—	**Wyoming**	
		Helms	+	Wallop	+
Kansas				Simpson	+
Dole	—	**Oklahoma**			
Kassebaum	—	Nickles	+		
Kentucky		**Oregon**			
McConnell	—	Packwood	—		
		Hatfield	—		

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backtracking when meeting resistance, spinning, trying another tack. Racing around like a chicken-without-a-head and accomplishing what you would expect such a creature to accomplish. But you know what inevitably happens to the proverbial chicken-without-a head? He's gone.

Impeach Clinton! And don't you think the liberals would agree, if only Hillary were Vice-President? ■

Anti-War Alliance Lives!

by M.N.R.

The old anti-war Left may be dead as a doornail, and signed up in the war-mongering ranks, but I'm delighted to say that the old Left-Right-libertarian anti-war coalition is alive and well at Stanford University. On May 7, there appeared an Appeal Against Intervention in the Bosnian conflict, addressed as an Open Letter to President Clinton. The Open Letter points out that the Serbs are not the only ethnic cleansers and that the conflict in Bosnia is a civil war, which can only be ended by a political agreement among the warring parties. Outside military intervention will only make matters worse, and increase the slaughter. The thirty-five faculty signers constitute the Balkan Peace Committee, 822 Los Robles Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94306.

Leftist signers include Barton Bernstein, New Left historian; Martin Carnoy, Marxist educator; David B. Tyack, New Left educational historian; and David M. Kennedy, Decline of Empire historian; conservatives include Lewis Gann and Tom Moore of the Hoover Institution; and libertarians include Bill Evers, Bob Hessen, Pete Boettke, and David Henderson of the Hoover Institution, and Ron Howard of the Department of Engineering-Economic Systems. The distinguished Balkan historian Wayne S. Vucinich also graces the signers.

Way to go, Stanford! ■

The Arkansas-Stephens Connection

by M.N.R.

We have all been learning far more about Arkansas sleaze than we ever dreamed we'd have to know. The gambling killer-nurse Queen Mother, the thuggish First Brother, the tacky and horrendous Thomasons, the kid Cousin Cathy Cornelius --the demon travel agent, all these peckerwoods from Arkansas have been forced upon our attention. But what's been missing has been Big Money, and we owe thanks to Doug Ireland of the leftist *Village Voice*, who has put it all together (*VV*, June 8) with the help of some dull and incomplete articles in the *New York Times*, plus Ireland's contacts at the *National Mortgage News* and an article by Steve Pizzo in the *Bank Resolution Reporter*.

The Arkansas Connection centers around the extremely wealthy Stephens family, owners of Stephens, Inc. of Little Rock. Founder of Stephens, Inc. was the late W.R. ("Witt") Stephens, who was also the longtime head of Arkla, Inc., the huge natural gas combine, whose former president and CEO was none other than Bill Clinton's beloved childhood buddy and current chief of staff, Thomas ("Mack") McLarty.

It is well-known that Hillary Rodham Clinton's power law firm was the Rose law firm of Little Rock. Less well known is that Rose has long been the attorney for the powerful Stephens interests. To be more specific, let us consider the fate of some of Hillary's senior partners at the Rose firm. First, there is Webster ("Webb") Hubbell, now No. 3 at the Department of Justice, and apparently the *de facto* Attorney-General, the beloved La Reno to the contrary notwithstanding. Stephens, Inc. has for many years been the major underwriter and seller of municipal bonds in the State of Arkansas, and it is interesting that Webb Hubbell was, from 1979 to 1981, the mayor of Little Rock, an important issuer of such bonds. Another Rose partner was Vincent Foster, who personally represented Stephens, Inc. and who is now deputy White House counsel. A third Rose partner was the head of the Rose law firm William H. Kennedy 3rd, who also represented the Stephens family; Kennedy is now associate White House counsel.

It turns out that Stephens, Inc. was involved in several peccadilloes which brought it

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into possibly unpleasant contact with federal regulatory agencies. For one thing, the Stephens family owns the Worthen Banking Corp., the state's largest bank, as well as the First National Bank of Stuttgart, Arkansas. One problem is that the Federal Reserve has already determined that the Stephens holdings in the Stuttgart bank violate a law prohibiting people who control securities firms from owning more than 50 percent of a bank. Now, from the free-market point of view this is a silly and stupid law; but still it *is* the law. What did the Fed do about it? At a closed meeting in February, the Federal Reserve Board decided, by a vote of 5 to 2, to let the Stephens interests off the hook; instead of levying a fine or bringing formal action, the Fed benignly suggested that the Stuttgart bank become a state-chartered bank, so as to avoid federal scrutiny. A month later, the Fed approved the Worthen Banking Corp.'s acquisition of another Arkansas bank despite severe reservations brought by the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, the supervisor for Arkansas.

Is it any wonder that the Worthen National Bank gladly loaned $2 million to the Clinton campaign?

Why is Alan Greenspan coddling Stephens? And does it have anything to do with Greenspan's notorious scene at the Inaugural, where he was lovey-dovey with none other than Hillary?

Not only that: there is a little-recognized but important link between Travelgate and the Stephens Connection. World-Wide Travel Service of Little Rock, at the center of Travelgate, was established by none other than the Worthen Banking Corporation in 1969 and incorporated by a lawyer for Stephens, Inc.

Also; there was a strong connection between the Stephens interests and the notorious and crooked BCCI, the very international bank which proved to be the downfall of the beloved Democrat Wise Man Clark Clifford. In 1976, Federal regulators informed BCCI that they would not be allowed to own any American banks. As an end run, BCCI arranged a secret purchase of Bert Lance (Jimmy Carter's favorite banker)'s National Bank of Georgia (NBG) using as a front man one Ghaith Pharaon. Federal regulators had already ordered Lance to get rid of his shares in NBG because of the same questionable loans that had forced Lance out as Director of the OMB in the Carter Administration. Pharaon paid the grateful Lance $20 a share for the NBG, grateful because its market worth was only half that amount. As a further sweetener, shortly after this deal, BCCI owner Agha Hasan Abedi hired Lance to advise BCCI. This whole stock deal was arranged by none other than Stephens, Inc., headed by Jackson Stephens.

Clifford and his partner Robert Altman were brought low because they allowed BCCI to own First American, in defiance of American law. That is well-known. What is far less known is the identity of the Americans who arranged the transaction. The idea for the secret purchase of First American (then called Financial Bankshares) was conceived by Bert Lance, who proposed it to BCCI, and the agent for BCCI in carrying out the transaction was Stephens, Inc. Stephens, Inc., in other words, was the "midwife" of this questionable transaction.

Which made Stephens, Inc. and its creation, the Worthen Banking Corporation, extremely interested in the outcome of the presidential election. Is it any wonder that the Stephens group raised more money for the Clinton presidential campaign than any other group? Is it any wonder that the Worthen National Bank gladly loaned $2 million to the Clinton campaign when it was on the financial ropes? Or that Greenspan wants to avoid questioning about the Fed's lax role in the BCCI affair?

In the light of all this, the Rose-Stephens stench around the White House takes on more than just "cronyism" significance, as is the fact that Webb Hubbell, our *de facto* Attorney-General, used to be an attorney

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for the Worthen Banking Corporation.

Hey, where is Lawrence Walsh now that we need him? ■

Approved Racism

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

In the confirmation hearings over Clintonian appointments, the Republicans have been remarkably passive. That changed with nomination of Lani Guinier as assistant attorney general for civil rights. For Guinier is a black racial theorist whom even the double standard couldn't protect. An ex-NAACP Legal Defense Fund lawyer, she has left a long and interesting paper trail as professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania.

In "Keeping the Faith" in the 1989 *Harvard Civil Rights- Civil Liberties Law Review*. Guinier argues for dismantling the American electoral system because "Blacks may vote, but it is whites who will govern." To fix this, "the Department of Justice" must "embrace the concept of 'meaningful'" representation through "race conscious remedies."

What does she mean by "meaningful?" As she explains in "The Triumph of Tokenism" in the March 1989 *Michigan Law Review*, it means electing "authentic" black representatives. They "must be more than physically black." They must also be "politically, psychologically, and culturally black."

"Black politicians may be electorally successful without being authentic," she warns, for some blacks "must appeal to white voters in order to get elected." Only electoral "support by a majority of black voters" can confer black "political authenticity."

Bloc voting by blacks demonstrates, she says, that they are "ideologically homogeneous" in favoring "greater civil rights enforcement, social welfare expenditures, and government intervention in domestic affairs." But they are not represented by authentic political leaders.

What to do? In "No Two Seats: The Elusive Quest for Political Equality" in the November 1991 *Virginia Law Review*, she tells us that "majority rule" is illegitimate when the majority is white: "simply put, racism excludes minorities," meaning "that the white majority will be permanent." That is, the present system prevents 12% of the population from running the other 88%.

American must understand: it's morally virtuous for blacks to vote for authentic blacks, she says. But if whites vote for whites, authentic or otherwise, it is "offensive to the dignity of minorities."

The electoral system must take into account her theory of society: the "Law of Racial Thermodynamics." It purports to show that racism is "neither created nor destroyed," but merely operates under "different guises," including the "procedural racism" of "seemingly neutral or meritocratic rules that predictably handicap blacks."

That's why she wants the Justice Department to establish a system to prevent "politically cohesive minority interests" from being "submerged" by majority vote.

Geographic districts, she argues, promote white rule. She wants them replaced with "distinct communities" of black "group activity and identity" for voting purposes. Voters of "the same interest" must be allowed "to join together" in voting for authentic candidates "regardless of where the voters live."

She also wants "cumulative voting" to "eliminate" the "winner-take-all characteristics" of the current system. In this way, black voters will be able to "express the intensity of their preferences" since they are "politically cohesive, sufficiently numerous, and strategically mobilized."

Under her system, she says, white voters would divide up their votes, while blacks would concentrate theirs. This would lead to "more authentic black political representation" and "greater black political power."

An authentic law professor herself, Guinier says the "empirical evidence" shows that "'blacks live in a different world from whites.'" All "disagreements among blacks pale by comparison with" the differences "between blacks and whites."

Guinier says that she knows that her scheme will be criticized for heightening racial divisions. But she dismisses that, since blacks are already "victimized as a result of their racial identity." Her plan, she says,

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would simply transfer political power from whites to blacks, which she equates with justice.

Guinier is Sister Souljah with a law degree. She calls not for a week to kill white people, but for their permanent disenfranchisement through the Department of Justice. No wonder that in one paper she thanks the "Columbia Law School Race Theory Seminar" and the "Critical Race Theory Workshop at the University of Colorado Law School" for their help.

Writing in the October 24, 1991, *Christian Science Monitor*, Guinier said that the "confirmation process" should be "pursued using the tools of the adversary system. The burden of proof would be on the White House to prove the nominee's qualifications by clear and convincing evidence."

Right on, Lani. But when the heat was turned up, Clinton wasn't willing to defend his "old friend," and she went down to defeat. May she be the symbol of the entire administration. ■

Where Do I Point The Hose?

by L.H.R., Jr.

In its first year, the Americans with Disabilities Act has become a regulatory menace of historic proportions. But who could be surprised? In one of the most ludicrous pieces of egalitarian legislation ever passed, the Bush administration tried to force society to pretend that mental and physical differences do not exist. In particular, it sought to punish any business that paid attention to these differences.("Empowerment," Bush aide James Pinkerton called it.)

The Bush administration tried to force society to pretend that mental and physical differences do not exist.

As of March 31st, more than 9,000 ADA legal complaints have been filed, unprecedented in the history of civil rights legislation. And every company that is aware of the Act is shaking in its boots.

The first lawsuit filed has already been decided: Charles Wessel, executive director of AIC Security Investigations,was diagnosed in 1987 as having lung cancer. By 1992, it had spread to his brain, and he was given six months to live. The company, noting that thanks to the disease and the medication he was taking, he was no longer "functioning," asked him to retire. He had been kept on board for five years as a cancer patient, but that counted not a whit, for this was Discrimination! His lawyer called the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, where staffers happily help file suits.

A federal jury awarded Wessel $22,000 in back pay, $200,000 in compensatory damages from the company, and another $250,000 from the owner, Ruth Vrdolyak —for a total of $572,000.

But Wessel did not have a disability, as this term is usually understood. He had brain cancer, was drugged up, and was probably costing the company a fortune. Thanks to the ADA, a tragedy for him and his family was transformed into a looting spree against his employer. As is usual these days, someone else was despoiled to make up for his troubles.

Just what is a disability? There are literally thousands of definitions used by local, state, and federal governments. Needless to say, the feds adopted the most expansive, since it serves the widest variety of special interests: "a physical or mental impairment which substantially limits one or more of the major life activities" or "being regarded as having such an impairment." The National Council on Disability—the federal agency charged with overseeing the Act's implementation —shortens this to the absurd: "any known physical or mental limitation."

The Act's provisions covering public accommodations, for example, have resulted in extremely costly renovations. To avoid judgments, for example, the America West Arena of Phoenix, Arizona, had to install

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14 wheelchair sections in the facility "in all price ranges and viewing angles," build a "dog park" for seeing-eye dogs, install hearing devises, and make all concession counters three feet high for people in wheelchairs and those "of short stature." If you get a backache from having to stoop over for your hotdog, that doesn't count.

A man in a wheelchair has sued the Little League for telling him he had to coach from a distance, and not at third base. The Little League thought—obviously without regard to essential human rights—that a large metal device at third base posed a risk to running and sliding boys.

An art institute had to hire a person to do sign-language for a single student. A small television station had to provide sign-language interpretations of all 1992 election programming. (A mere thumbs-down apparently didn't suffice.) A private school had to install ramps and new restrooms for one wheelchaired relative of one student to attend one ceremony.

These cases are cited by the National Council on Disability as heroic examples of the ADA in action. They prove, says the Council, that the "ADA continues to be a major success of American public policy."

But success is in the eye of the plaintiff. Consider that a Minnesota man sued a union health plan for putting a cap on AIDS-related benefits (similar cases in New York have been successful). A dentist in Houston is being sued for refusing to do orthodontic surgery on a patient with AIDS. And an HIV-infected doctor is suing the Mercy Catholic Medical Center in Darby, Pennsylvania, for violating his rights by preventing him from performing surgery on patients it would be illegal to tell about his disease.

The Melrose Diner in Philadelphia has been ordered to remove its front steps and install a ramp for the one customer who did not want to use the side entrance. Two diabetic bus drivers, who can go into comas, have sued the School District of Omaha for preventing them from driving buses full of school children.

The ADA plays to the basest human instincts. As Joe Sobran has pointed out, outsiders tend to hate insiders, not as the liberals tell us, the reverse. For example, gays tend to loathe straights, whereas straights

Quotes That Need No Comment

Very few Bosnian Muslims are practicing Muslims. Few have studied the Koran or engaged in Islamic rituals . . . On the contrary, many belong to an open, urban culture, secular and thoroughly Europeanized.—*The Village Voice*

For [Nan] Goldin [author of *The Other Side*], who identifies herself as a bisexual and believes in what she calls "trisexuality," no habit or practice is inherently bad or destructive. It's all situational.—*The Village Voice*

Let us be willing to remold society by redefining what it means to be a human being in the 20th century, moving into a new millennium.—Hillary Rodham Clinton

Mrs. Clinton . . . has read her way from . . . John Wesley to Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, three left-of- center theologians..to, most recently, Michael Lerner, a liberal Jewish thinker who coined the phrase "politics of meaning," which Mrs. Clinton adopted in her Austin speech.—*New York Sunday Times Magazine*

"CLINTON-GORE, GONE IN FOUR"—placards and chants at the Clinton San Diego "town meeting" in May

"Saudi Arabia's First Human Rights Group Is Outlawed Within a Month"—*Los Angeles Times*

Unfortunately, there are no effective military solutions to the Bosnian crisis. Perhaps the unpalatable truth is that when a people are determined to fight each other, there is precious little that the outside world can do to help.—Colonel Mike Dewar, deputy director of the (London) International Institute for Strategic Studies

Europe, which has lived with wars for thousands of years, is telling the U.S., with only 200 years of experience, to cool it over Bosnia. Sounds like pretty good advice.—Al Neuharth, founder, *USA Today*

The 'balanced' report . . . can be debilitating. Can we afford to wait for our audience to come to its own conclusions? I think not.—Teya Ryan, producer of CNN's "Network Earth" series, *Investor's Business Daily*

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merely want to avoid the march on Washington. Race hatred is far more common and more focused among blacks than whites. And envy is a special temptation for the handicapped.

It is not a good idea to hand the outsider a federal crowbar, as civil rights legislation like the ADA does. A sort of Johnny Legalseed, for example, filed 60 complaints against private schools in Vermont and Massachusetts. And in just one month, a wheelchaired lawyer in Austin, Texas, filed a litany of ADA suits against local businesses for insensitive restrooms, doorways, elevators, pay telephones, serving lines, and water fountains. Included were McDonald's, Pizza Hut, Popeye's, Dairy Queen, Wendy's, Circle K, Blockbuster Video, Luby's, Eckerd's Drugs, and Coco's. Several companies have already settled, but probably none will actually go to court. Meanwhile, the lawyer grows rich.

The public access requirements of the ADA clearly go much further than the Bush administration said. The law claims that business need not take on "undue" burdens, yet the courts have not declared any burden undue. The Council gives only one example. Restaurants do not need to have braille menus, for the waiter need only read it to the visually impaired. But what if a blind person is deaf as well? Someone will surely sue and find out. And isn't having a menu read aloud an open display of unequal treatment? The most chilling example of braille for the rest of us: it now festoons the *drive-in* ATM at my local bank.

By far the most dangerous aspect of the ADA, however, is its employment provisions, which went into effect last year for businesses with 25 employees or more, and which will be extended to firms with 15 or more employees next year. If a manager can no longer discriminate on grounds of "physical or mental" capacities, how can he hire, fire, and promote in any rational fashion? Hey, did Japanese lobbyists promote this bill?

State licensure is a defective procedure, but the principle this case establishes is even more illegitimate.

Indeed, it is hard to imagine what kind of reasonable employment practice would *not* be considered a violation of the ADA. For example, a blind fireman was dismissed and then, after a disabilities lawsuit, rehired with back pay and damages. ("Where do I point the hose, guys?" Or perhaps he can find the fire by touch: 'Ouch. OUCH!")

The very notion of job qualifications is now suspect. When a man failed the licensure test of the electrician certification board in Wisconsin, he sued the state through the ADA. His disability? He was no good at "taking tests." Just before the case went to trial, Wisconsin gave in and allowed the man to have 10 hours over two days to take the test rather than four hours on one day, and to have with him a tutor, a copy of the state electrical code, and a crib. ("Okay to turn on the power now, ma'am. Zaaaap! Whoops, sorry.")

State licensure is a defective procedure, but the principle this case establishes is even more illegitimate. For example, a state bar association had to give more time to a would-be lawyer taking the bar examine on grounds that he was learning disabled. If a client objects to paying for more hours so this lawyer can do legal research, will this be a hate crime?

Nearly half of the ADA suits come from employees who have discovered disabilities after they were fired. Say a salesman keeps forgetting the names and product preferences of important customers. If the employee lets it be known that he has a protected mental disability, namely forgetfulness, the business can no longer risk dismissing him.

Not all is bleak, however. In Oregon, a woman claimed to have lost her job with two airlines because she had Gronblad-Strandberg syndrome. But the airlines noted that she was fired due to absenteeism—a total of one year and three months during eight years with one airline,

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and seven and a half months out of three years with the other. The judge ruled that a 20% absenteeism rate is sufficient for dismissal since "an employee must regularly attend work in order to be qualified to perform her job." Of course, with thoughts like these, he can forget about a Supreme Court appointment from Hillary.

In a Postal Service case, an admitted alcoholic was fired after years of negotiations for absenteeism. The court sided with the Post Office, ruling that the woman was let go not because of alcoholism but because she missed work too much. The lesson: if your nonperforming employee is an alcoholic, you'd better hope he stays home from work, since boozing is an official disability under the ADA.

Will business be able to cite a staff of alcoholics and drug users as evidence that it did not discriminate against a quadriplegic?

Even the old-fashioned job interview has come under assault. The ADA explicitly prohibits the use of employment tests "and other selection criteria" that screen out "people with disabilities," i.e. those with limitations. That is, it is private decision making itself that is here under assault.

Employers are being told not to ask any questions about past behavior, whether absenteeism, alcoholism, drug use, or even mental skills. Manuals on ADA implementation give examples of the most obviously illegal questions: "Have your ever been treated by a psychiatrist or psychologist? For what?" "Is there any health- related reason that would prevent you from doing the type of work for which you are applying?" "Are you taking any prescribed drugs that would effect your work performance?"

The rest is nebulous. For example, can anyone short of Murray Rothbard qualify as mentally "limited"? When, if ever, is the speed of doing a job a reasonable consideration? Is it only AIDS that cannot be considered, or do other deadly communicable diseases count as well?

Everyone knows that business is mandated to hire and promote disabled people, even if doing so incurs costs. But how much cost is "reasonable?" Does a small company have to drive itself to the brink of bankrupty to accommodate one employee? And what happens when two disabled people come into the office at the same time? To choose between them would require. . . discrimination. Further, is it illegal to discriminate in favor of the least disabled over the more disabled?

When the quota game starts —as it inevitably will—the questions will mount. A company will have to be able to point to its past record of hiring and promoting disabled people to justify itself in a single case. But will an accused business be able to cite a staff of alcoholics, drug users, and dyslexics as evidence that it did not discriminate against a quadriplegic? What if a black woman is passed over so that a white male on crutches can be hired?

And what happens when "fully abled" people notice that the "disabled" are getting better treatment? Given the broadness of the term "disabled," it is easy for people to shift their status from abled to disabled. Affirmative action for the disabled will therefore result in more disabled people.

The employer bears the burden of proof in all ADA cases, as Douglas Massengill and Harvey R. Boller demonstrate in the *Employee Relations Law Journal*. In fact, more and more, to oppose any member of a sanctioned victim group is a guilty act itself.

The lobbyists for the ADA told us it would not be costly, would not generate new litigation, and would not break the legs of business. They said it would simply protect the handicapped against the bigoted. Based on such myths, the ADA passed overwhelmingly—377 to 28 in the House and 91 to 6 in the Senate.

Congress or the Bush administration could have enumerated the kinds of disabilities included under the Act, but it chose not to. Why? Special interests saw the act as a golden (or,

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rather, green) opportunity for being classified among America's official victims. Clearly defining what constitutes disability, as Peter A. Susser argues in the *Employee Relations Law Journal*, would "not ensure comprehensiveness (particularly in light of the fact that new disorders may develop in the future)."

Skeptical conservatives in Congress then took the tack that the exceptions to disability ought to be listed. During the debates, for example, Jim Chapman (D-TX) sought to allow restaurants to transfer an employee with an "infectious or communicable disease of public health significance" out of food- handling. The House passed the Chapman Amendment and so did the Senate. But when the gay lobby objected, the amendment was dropped in conference.

Conservatives did win one small victory in the course of the legislative history. They were able to list some conditions that cannot be considered disabilities, including homosexuality, bisexuality, transvestitism, transsexualism, pedophilia, exhibitionism, voyeurism, kleptomania, and pyromania. But now, with their march on Washington, theft on Washington, burn down Washington, etc., these groups are clamoring for their own separate civil rights act.

The disability lobby likes to compare the ADA to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the comparison is disarmingly apt. Both laws establish the government as the discerner of sinister motives behind economic acts. Motives can be important once guilt is already established, as in criminal trials; but to make otherwise innocent actions criminal on federally perceived motivation, as anti-discrimination law does, is fundamentally totalitarian.

Many people thought that '64 was about the use of fire hoses and police dogs against peaceful demonstrators. Instead, it ended up erecting a enormous apparatus of quotas and special privileges for blacks, while trampling the freedom of association, destroying the free market in labor, and setting in motion a competitive bidding process for blacks that makes the Peter Principle look tame. In effect, all the warnings of the opponents came true.

Similarly, the ADA was supposed to make the disabled more independent and include them in the division of labor. But it will only succeeded in erecting an enormous extra-market superstructure of court precedents, business mandates, special privileges, and quotas. The authentically disabled may be helped by the ADA—but only because of their dependence on this legal edifice. The Act thus creates not independence, but far-reaching dependence on the government.

Most people, even many conservatives, are far too sanguine about interfering with market relations through anti-discrimination law. At the root of this intervention lies opposition to voluntary market relations, and a view of free enterprise as a kind of conspiracy. For example, former Bush EEOC chairman Evan J. Kemp claims that "much of our public policy has been centered on improving society" for "the 5-foot-10-inch, 160 pound, twenty-eight-year-old white male with no physical or mental impairments." Huh? This sort of paranoia makes Jesse Jackson seem reasonable. It also confirms one of Rockwell's Laws: Never trust a man named Kemp.

The idea of the American system is, or was, that we would have a few strict laws to which everyone would have to adhere, and that these laws would mainly demarcate what is mine and what is thine. They would also punish those who went over the line. This idea is entirely lost on the disability lobby, and others demanding special rights at the expense of liberty and property.

Over the next few years, we can be sure, ADA lawsuits will skyrocket. More and more people will have a vested interest in using the ADA, and the government, always looking for a reason to expand, will be more than pleased to oblige.

The National Council on Disability has suggested areas for future complaints: a "recent survey found that 48% of private physicians refuse to treat patents who are HIV-positive." That's discriminating against the disabled, under which death-dealing HIVers are included. Also, bathroom faucets, public phones, water fountains, and library card catalogs are too high, along with supermarket counters. All these are cited by the Council as in need of correction by ADA.

The Council even suggests that if a fellow employee's perfume gets on your nerves, you should use the ADA to sue your

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employer. Why? You have a disability (perfume irritates you) and by allowing people to wear perfume, your employer is violating your rights. They even suggest that scent-emitting "deodorizing devices" be forced out of public restrooms.

The Clinton administration is requesting that Congress approve another 157 jobs just to handle ADA and other civil rights paperwork. The Council supports this to, of course, so that the federal government can be more "sensitive to the needs" of disabled "African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanic and Latino populations, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, and other minority populations." (Why do today's federal documents read like a Maya Angelou pome?)

The Council also points out, as if we had to be told, that "minority women with disabilities" have "three possible categories" of discrimination. The point is illustrated by the case of an Atlanta medical clinic that asked Esther Atakpa, a Nigerian citizen, to take an HIV test before she was given care. The woman refused, and so was refused service. Atakpa filed suit in the federal court on both ADA and 1964 Civil Rights Act grounds. The ACLU is picking up all her charges.

The Council, moreover, says that focussing on presently disabled people is not enough. The government should also serve those with "emerging disabilities," such as those who are upset by "secondary smoke," i.e. liberals.

The number of complaints will never measure the degree to which this act is radically changing American business, however. The ADA has unleashed a terror campaign against private property, under which the threat of a complaint is as effective as the complaint itself. The hundreds of pages in the *Federal Register* spelling out what the ADA is supposed to mean don't come close to exhausting the possibilities.

Activists claim that 43 million Americans are disabled. But this is nonsense. We need to face the fact that no two people are alike. Each of us excels at some things and fails at others. Each of us has unique strengths and unique weaknesses. That's how we were created, and it's what, in turn, creates the division of labor, and therefore the economy itself.

The effort to erase such differences is a Stalinist enterprise, as we will discover in the Age of Clinton. ■

Illusions

by L.H.R., Jr.

The Illusion of Choice: How the Market Economy Shapes Our Destiny
by Andrew Bard Schmookler
Albany, N.Y.: State University OF New York Press
349 pp., $24.50

Market Liberalism: A Paradigm for the 21st Century
edited by David Boaz and Edward H. Crane
Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute
404 pp., $15.95

What's the proper role of the central government? Most conservatives and libertarians would say, defend the borders, mint sound money, and that's about it. Fortunately, the laws of economics as well as the natural patterns of social development support such a minimalist view.

Yet we face a gargantuan state claiming sovereignty over our families, our businesses, our schools, our property, and our health. And Clinton's Newer Deal can only make things vastly worse.

What to do? For one thing, we can recognize with Albert Jay Nock that our enemy is the state. It is no coincidence that Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Mao, and Pol Pot were government officials.

We also need more books telling us, in the Nockian tradition, of the futility and ferocity of the modern statist project. *The Illusion of Choice* is not such a book.

In fact, Andrew Bard Schmookler, an associate of what sounds like the think tank from Hell (Harvard University's Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age), wants a much bigger state.

The "spiralling arms race revealed something terribly wrong about our civilization," he says, and so does "our ceaselessly escalating race for material wealth." Oh sure, we can buy a "bowl's worth of oatmeal" for "a few pennies," but the market "neglects the penniless." Having "so much, we remain hungry" and are "devouring the earth." (Mmmm, pass me a piece of Central America, please.)

To elevate the environment over mankind and the penniless over the productive—two

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of the imperatives of the Schmooklerian social order—Washington, D.C., must be put in almost total control of the economy. (As versus the present situation, when it can tell us what do only 98% of the time.)

A properly empowered state will ensure that we make the choices that are good for us and the environment, choices now obscured by such illusions of the market as: higher standards of living are better than lower, people are more important than aphids, businessmen contribute more to society than derelicts.

Quoting John Kenneth Galbraith, Schmookler laments that thanks to the market's power to cloud men's minds, "alcohol, comic books, and mouthwash" have better reputations than government's provision of "schools, judges, and municipal swimming pools."

Sorry, J.K. What decent American, if asked to choose between a good cognac and condomed public schools, thug-loving judges, and disease-ridden government swimming holes, wouldn't call for a snifter?

All the more reason, to Schmookler, why we need a "radical transformation in our political economy and in our consciousness," away from such capitalist crimes as the use of rock salt on ice. He's right that this damages cars, roads, underground cables, etc., and there are undoubtedly better ways of doing the job. But we'll never find out until it's no longer the case of government applying the salt to government roads.

Schmookler talks about other alleged third-party effects or "externalities" of capitalism, such as the sale of a farm in Taylor, New York. It was transformed into a low-level nuclear dump, much to the chagrin of the neighbors. But it was the New York state government that bought the property. Government subsidization of a favored industry can hardly be charged to the free market, which generates no externalities requiring political intervention.

What exactly is wrong with Brazilian peasants cutting down the rain forest (a.k.a. the jungle) and raising beef?

Schmookler, needless to say, blames the market for ozone loss, acid rain, and "tropical-forest-killing hamburgers." But ozone loss and acid rain are eco-myths. As to chainsaw sandwiches, what exactly is wrong with Brazilian peasants cutting down the rain forest (a.k.a. the jungle) and raising beef? Or are they supposed to live in mildewed loincloths so the eco-nuts in Manhattan and Malibu can feel warm all over?

Schmookler claims that "market forces corrode community," but that's nonsense as well. In the laissez-faire 19th century, communities and families were almost invincible. In the 20th century, they are sick unto death. The reason is the welfare state, which seeks to destroy all competing power centers in society.

At the beginning of his book, Schmookler tells us that he's poor and close to the earth, and he feels awesome about it, man. But as with the entire left, envy clearly drives his program. He wants everyone to be poor, and his policies would certainly make that possible.

Every market advocate enjoys a rigorous challenge from the left, if only because intellectual debate is so much fun. Schmookler sets out to refute Mises, Hayek, and Friedman, so he seems like a worthy challenger. But his book is confused, banal, and simple-minded, demonstrating once again that market opponents haven't come up with a new argument since Veblen. And Mencken took care of him.

How nice to clear one's mind of Schmookler with the essays in *Market Liberalism*, by and large an edifying endorsement of less federal involvement in domestic and international affairs.

We learn, for example, about the FDA and other political intrusions that harm our health (Michael Tanner), the trouble with the World Bank and IMF (Melanie S. Tammen), the importance of a non-imperial foreign policy (Christopher Layne, Ted Galen Carpenter, et al.), and the myth of global warming (Patrick J. Michaels).

But there's a strain of techno-

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New Ageism. For example, Lewis J. Perelman advocates a federal "Department of Knowledge Resources" to replace "the medieval scholastic establishment" with "broadband, digital so-called 'information superhighways'" and a "hyperlearning industry." Got that?

And is it really necessary, if we agree with Thomas W. Hazlett's compelling argument for telecommunications deregulation, to hunger after zillion-channel, interactive television in our homes? One of the best things I ever did for my family was to enact zero-channel tv.

There are also leftist elements (David Boaz, for example). Does Sister Souljah really "deserve our admiration" just because she's no longer a welfare bum? Have whites really put blacks on a "welfare plantation"? In the old days, we're told, the owners lazed around and collected unearned income, while the slaves worked from dawn to dusk to pay for it. Just who fits into these categories today?

Then the editors tell us about the "history of the West," which is "largely a history of liberty. Antigone, Jesus, the emergence of pluralism and independent cities, the Magna Carta, the Renaissance, Martin Luther, the Enlightenment, the American Revolution, the repeal of the Corn Laws, the abolition of slavery, all marked continued progress toward the liberation of the individual from the coercive power of the state."

Huh? That's too much of a tangle to straighten out in a review, but we might begin by wondering whether the Incarnation is to be equated to a misinterpreted mythological figure or a policy change in 19th-century England. Or what the Catholic cultural glories of the Renaissance have to do with liberty. Or whether the sword-wielding Luther should be put in the anti-statist camp, or simply the anti-Papist. Further, does the reference to slavery mean they favored Lincoln in the state-expanding War of Northern Aggression?

The editors tell us of the glories of abstract "human rights" and the evils of Pat Buchanan's speech at the Republican convention. They also "reject the bashing of gays, Japan, rich people, and immigrants that contemporary liberals and conservatives seem to think addresses society's problems." Nowhere is the real bashing of white males, Catholics, WASPs, Southerners, heterosexuals, and native Americans (and I don't mean Indians) mentioned.

The title of this book comes from a struggle over self identity. The editors are anxious not to be seen as conservatives, on the grounds that the word "smacks of an unwillingness to change, a desire to preserve the status quo." They aren't libertarians because that is "an awkward and misinterpreted neologism that has become too closely tied to a particular group of activists." (The *OED* traces the modern meaning of libertarian to 1878.) Classical liberal is no good either, because it "connotes a backward-looking philosophy all the tenets of which have been carved in stone." They settle on "liberal" because "the liberals in societies from China to Iran to South Africa to Argentina are supporters of human rights and free markets."

But the editors never succeed in explaining why modern liberals—with whom they share fundamental political values—are invariably statists. Nor do they tell us just why are we supposed to look forward to, rather than dread, the 21st century. And they overlook the deeper ironies of liberal ideology, e.g. if the proper end of society is democracy and pluralism, the state will have to be brought to bear against those who fail to exalt those particular values above all else. Liberalism is pluralism with a guillotine, to paraphrase Isabel Paterson.

The phrase "market liberal" also seems oddly broad. Bill Clinton could accept that designation, which may be partly the point. On balance, however, this is a useful book. But please, publisher, if you want your customers to do more than put it on their shelves, include an index. ■

P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

No Danger of That

Australian aborigines, incensed by the remark of a Sydney soccer official that they were welcome in the sport only if they behaved like whites, put a curse on him. Covered in body paint, they jabbed their spears in the official's face to give him a year of bad luck. Cooler heads had prevailed,

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however, and they did not "point the bone," a death spell. (*Washington Times*, 5/13/93)

Showdown

Blacks in Toronto, Canada, are protesting the production of the Oscar Hammerstein-Jerome Kern musical, *Showboat*, in the city's new theater center. "I didn't like the way they treated black people," said Fayola Leach, "and black people are still treated that way."

The show tells, notes the *Washington Post* (5/18/93), "the story of the Cotton Blossom, a family-run floating theater that plies the Mississippi. Of the eight principle characters, five are white, two are black, and one is what was called in that time a 'mulatto'; miscegenation is one of the show's theme's."

There were no conservative protests, apparently, over the commie Hammerstein's show that made a star out of the commie Paul Robeson.

Zombie Mania

"Night after night, hundreds of Haitians gather in a soccer field to hear Andre Ville Jean-Paul tell how he was buried alive and then resurrected from the grave as one of Haiti's legendary 'walking dead,'" reported Anne-Marie O'Connor in the *Atlanta Journal* (5/16/93). "It isn't the first case of zombie mania in Haiti's history. Zombies are a prominent feature of Haitian lore. They are said to be created by top-secret voodoo cults that are viewed as aberrant by the mainstream voodoo majority." Zombies who escape enjoy "celebrity status, often going on the radio talk show circuit."

Jean-Paul doesn't know why he was selected for zombiehood, but Haitians "sometimes sell their relatives to secret zombie societies to punish them."

First, Jean-Paul was buried "for a period he estimates as two weeks." Then his "coffin began to rise through the earth." "Voices ordered him three times to rise from the casket." He was then sold to a voodoo priest or *houngan* who "put him to work in the rice fields with 18 other zombies." They "slaved in the nude, supervised by a dwarf zombie whose attire consisted of a belt of bells around his waist that

More Quotes That Need No Comment

Opposing abortion, in the opinion of most journalists...is not a legitimate, civilized position in our society.—Ethan Bronner, reporter, *Boston Globe*, in *Investor's Business Daily*

A 1986 Center for Media and Public Affairs survey of 240 major newspaper and network journalists found that 97% considered themselves to be pro-choice...While most of the public say they believe homosexuality is wrong, 76% of the top journalists said they disagreed with that position and most said they "strongly disagreed."—*Investor's Business Daily*

Polls keep showing Americans think the Clinton budget cuts spending. Our study shows the networks haven't told people that the plan actually increases spending.—Brent Baker, Media Research Center, Alexandria, Va., in *Investor's Bsuiness Daily*

"In the beginning things were simple, "said Urs Boegli, operations coordinator for the International Committee for the Red Cross [in Sarajevo]. "The authorities want them out and the people want to go...People are coming to us and saying don't stop the ethnic cleansing."...Another international aid worker said, "It's called self-cleansing."—*New York Times*

Ironically, White House aides originally thought the [travel office] firings would be a positive story—demonstrating they were being aggressive in cleaning up management inefficiencies. But they forgot two basic rules of political operation: First, make sure your own house is clean, and second, be careful in going after people who are friends of the press.—*Los Angeles Times*

Many Democratic supporters of Mr. Clinton are beginning to whisper the previously unwhisperable: What if this White House never turns the corner? What if the real problem is not focus, or staff, or organizational charts, but somehow the President himself?—Thomas L. Friedman, *New York Times*

Clinton's image of manly informality has been blown away by a hair dryer. After he reads the working stiff's reaction to the return of Hollywood royalism, down-home "Bill" (to avoid being called "Prince William") will fire Christophe. We can hope he will not seek to cover his embarrassment by ordering an F.B.I. probe of the hairdresser's billing practices.—William Safire, *New York Times*

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tinkled when he danced."

The zombies were fed moonshine, rice, bananas, charcoal, and what he believes was human flesh. Jean-Paul worked for years until one of the slaves killed the *houngan* with a shovel, "breaking the spell." But "I'm sorry the voodoo man is dead," said Jean-Paul, "even though he beat us like children."

Holidays in the New Dispensation

Ever notice that holidays like Christmas and Easter are now used by the media to attack Christianity? By the same logic, Mothers Day is now an occasion for attacking mothers and the family. This year (5/9/93), for example, the *Washington Post* ran two articles in its "Outlook" section on why the traditional family is oppressive, sexist, racist, homophobic, etc. It also published a p.c. review of *The Politics of Parenthood: Child Care, Women's Rights, and the Myth of the Good Mother* by Mary Francis Berry of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and the University of Pennsylvania.

Berry, not one of the brightest lights in the official firmament, says that the idea of the mother as the nurturing, caring parent undermines feminism and civil rights, and is therefore wrong—and that it is only 150 years old!

Since Berry is black, the white reviewer cannot come right out and say her book is a joke. So she says: "Although Berry's data to support this point are frequently scanty and need more thorough research, her short book provides a starting point for future historians."

Berry claims that Jefferson, Adams, and other founders were New Age fathers. Says the reviewer: "Because Berry only allots a few paragraphs to each of the figures cited, the reader yearns for more information to back up her claims. Berry should know that the reader, so accustomed to the traditional view of mothers, cannot help but wonder at times whether these descriptions accurately reflect reality."

He's a (Race) Riot

Black comedian Paul Mooney's act consists of anti-white jokes. They are designed to "f--k with white people" because "all of their lives white people are always told, 'You're the best,' 'You're wonderful,' 'You come from Heaven.'"

After last year's riots, Mooney took to handing out matches to his largely black audiences at the Los Angeles Comedy Store and saying, "Now go burn down Beverly Hills."

The few whites who attend enjoy his anti-white comedy, says Mooney. But he's bothered when the occasional white stalks out. A favorite line: "I hope when you get home, niggers are burglarizing your house." (*Washington Post*, 5/16/93)

Non-White Names

The newborn baby girl at Atlanta's Crawford Long Hospital was named YaMaya Cimone. "I just named her that because it was different," says her mother, LaRhonda. Other first and middle names in the nursery included Tria Armania, Jamecia Thermutus, and Ja-Min O'Haad.

"Blacks are refusing to take white people's names," says Professor Leonard Ashley of Brooklyn College, author of "What's in a Name?". Today's black names must "have a nice ring" and not be "Anglo-Saxon." Current popular choices include Lavar, LaKeisha, LaTonya, Jabar, Sheshandra, Tamika, and Daquisha. (*Washington Times*, 5/19/93)

Equality!

"Montgomery Test Scores Soar for Black, Latino Students" said the front-page headline of the May 19, 1993, *Washington Post*. Whites and Asians used to get much higher scores in a Montgomery County, Maryland, writing test. Now blacks and Hispanics score as well, which the *Post* attributed to a non-racist atmosphere. But the accompanying chart showed all four groups now scoring almost 100% in the test. That had to mean, although the story didn't mention it, that the test had been simplified. When everybody gets a near-perfect score, it's not a test. But that is the educational future.

Silentaphobes

The deaf community is mounting a campaign to stop parents from having their deaf children given the new cochlear implants, which allow some hearing. The National Association of the Deaf calls it "invasive surgery on defenseless children." The newspaper *Silent News* portrays it as a jackboot labeled "Hearing" crushing small children labeled "Deaf."

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Dr. Charles Berlin of the Kresge Hearing Research Lab at Louisiana State University says that his work in curing deafness is now called "genocide of the deaf."

The militant deaf are resisting undeafness in every way possible. The sign language gesture for a "deaf person who thinks like a hearing person" also means crazy.

"I think it's wrong for a hearing parent to deny a deaf child their cultural identity and force them to be hearing," says Tom Willard, editor of *Silent News*. Even deaf children who are taught lip-reading, signed exact English, or cued English as versus traditional sign language are ostracized. Those who also have cochlear implants are considered traitors. (*New York Times*, 5/16/93)

Gypsy Scholars

One of the results of academic affirmative action, reports Professor Robert Weissberg of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in *Forbes* (5/10/93), is the "'non-careers' of bright white males" who at best "end up with endless one-year temporary positions at third-rate schools."

Many of the best white students will "never get an academic job interview, let alone a job offer," while unqualified "black, Hispanic, and female job candidates" are "on national tours going from one campus to the next receiving the most outrageous offers."

White males continue to be recruited into graduate school to teach the courses lazy professors shun, and then are left by the wayside. "The white male students are Kleenex teachers, disposable people, created and then thrown away." Affirmative action, reports Weissberg, is creating a "lost generation" of "talented men justifiably bitter about being excluded from positions they deserve" so "not-very-bright 'role models'" can be hired.

Excluded white males may eventually "become the nucleus of a political movement to settle the score."

When he tells friends about just whom is being hired, they say, "Come on, nobody can be that stupid!" He answers that universities are "free to pursue stupidity because such stupidity is not punished in academic life." But will it have extra-academic consequences? Excluded white males, he says, may eventually "become the nucleus of a political movement to settle the score."

I Swear by Hillary the Physician

In a run-up to the coming prohibition, and in what is sure to make him a type of our medical future, Mark Jameson, MD, of Hagerstown, Maryland, is refusing to treat patients who smoke. (*Washington Times*, 5/20/93)

Chromes

Non-gays can't use "queer," wrote Jacob Weisberg in *The New Republic* (5/31/93). Like "other traditionally derogatory, now vogue terms, it's still off-limits for the uncredentialed."

Such "neo-offensive" terms once seemed a refreshing contrast to "differently-abled" and other p.c. gems, such as when Jesse Jackson at the 1984 Democratic convention called for the inclusion not only of black Americans, brown Americans, red Americans, and yellow Americans, but also of "chrome Americans."

But now p.c., for the in-group, means being "shocking and sensitive at the same time." This results in such phrases as "queers of color" and "Latino fag." The program of the gay march on Washington described speakers Carmen Vasquez as "an avowed butch Puertorican lesbian socialist" and Barbara Dinnerstein as a "deafened Jewish dyke."

O Denny Boys

It was big national news when black federal police in Maryland brought a civil rights suit against Denny's Restaurants because they *weren't served fast enough*. Now a black church in North Carolina has brought a similar suit against the chain because one of its restaurants couldn't handle three busloads of choir members at once. What's next? The racism of being

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served warm coffee?

The New York Times Decries Regulations

Controls on private property have brought a "repressiveness bordering on tyranny" in Richmond, Washington, reports the *New York Times* (6/7/93). The Jones family wanted to paint their house bright purple with teal trim, but were prevented from doing so. "I can't believe this is happening in America," said Mrs. Jones.

What the *Times* hates is not government restrictions, of course, but private ones. The Joneses signed a covenant and other agreements when they bought their house. These contracts bar, for example, outlandish color schemes. And now local courts have upheld what the *Times* condemns as "private government." What a great phrase!

I used to buy some of my daughter's clothing at Benetton, but no more.

Boycott Benetton

I used to buy some of my daughter's clothing at Benetton, but no more. The advertising campaigns of the Italian firm are designed to ridicule religion, break down traditional lines of demarcation in society, and promote polymorphous perversity.

One Benneton outrage, in the French commie newspaper, *Liberation*, features, says the *Washington Post* (6/10/93), "vivid photos of 58 adult and child sex organs." It "shows we are all equal," says company chairman Luciano Benetton. ■

Toward A Paleo Right

by Greg Kaza

The re-emergence of an Old Right was one of the most remarkable, and underreported, developments of the 1992 election.

The Republican Party, long the preserve of country club liberals and religious right conservatives, was suddenly confronted with the emergence of a third force committed to free markets, individual liberty, and a non-interventionist foreign policy. This development offers hope to middle Americans that there are alternatives to Washington's professional political class and its status quo politics of higher taxes and greater Empire. It also presents Republicans with the possibility of *total victory*; the last time the GOP controlled Congress was during the Old Right's glorious reign between 1946 and 1952. The demise of the Republican Party in Congress in the 20th Century is largely the demise of the Old Right. It was only the premature death of Ohio Senator Robert Taft, Mr. Republican, that created a political opening in the mid-1950's for a "New Right" enamored of a mixed economy, social engineering, and foreign adventurism. Since then, it has been one long, slow descent into neo-con hell.

While offering hope, the Old Right's re-emergence does present several problems. One unresolved semantic question is whether the term "Old Right" is meaningful and relevant to most Americans. Another question is whether Republicans loyal to the Old Right tradition should devote their energies to pursuit of the Presidency or focus on local, state, and congressional races.

A False History

The problem is that the "New Right" of the mid-1950's has been redefined by the neo-con establishment as today's "Old Right." For Beltway Conservatives, William F. Buckley is the movement's grandfather, while Robert Taft has disappeared down an Orwellian memory hole built by neo-conservatives.

Can there be any doubt this is a deliberate provocation, not the result of accident or benign ignorance? Taft's politics, especially his bitter opposition to establishment of the national security state, are anathema to the neo-cons. Rather than confront Taft on the issues, the neo-cons define his policies as illegitimate and rewrite history. Rather than ascribe the GOP's decline in Congress to the Old

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Right's demise, the neo-cons blame it on the unwillingness of Republicans to become social democrats. The danger of this neo-con history is that calling oneself "Old Right" today is to be identified politically in most circles with *National Review*.

One option is to reclaim the "Old Right" through an *intellectual* fight. But this overlooks the *political* question of whether "Old Right" is a meaningful and relevant term. Intellectually, we should confront the neo-cons whenever possible. Politically, the term "Old Right" makes little sense. A majority of Americans oppose higher taxes and greater Empire (especially when Washington drafts their kids), but do not identify these policies with the "Old Right."

Another option is to redefine ourselves *politically* as "paleo-right." The Old Right's re-emergence in 1992 was marked by increased usage of the terms "paleo-libertarian" and "paleo-conservative." The split between "neo" and "paleo" conservatives is an established fact even in liberal circles; redefining ourselves as "paleo-right" sets us apart within the Republican Party as a *political* group distinct from the neos, country club liberals, and religious or "New" Right.

It may be objected that semantics mean little politically. Firsthand experience leads me to reject this. During my successful candidacy for the Michigan State House in 1992, my opponents and the news media attempted to define me politically as a "libertarian," "conservative," "right-wing," "far-right," etc. I added a political caveat to their definitions: "I am the only candidate who supports tax cuts and term limits, and opposes Lansing's policy of spending millions to give maximum security prisoners a college education."

Candidates who fail to define themselves leaves them open to being defined by opponents. Likewise, our failure to define ourselves allows the neo-cons to define us in their own critical terms. We should define ourselves politically as *paleo-right*.

The White House?

The paleo-right's emergence occurred largely, but not entirely, within the context of Pat Buchanan's candidacy for the Republican nomination for President. Buchanan's failure as a candidate led some observers, primarily neo-cons, to ascribe the paleo-right as an aberration.

The fetish with presidential politics is a recurring phenomenon within the conservative and libertarian movements. Every four years, a new "Savior" emerges on the national scene to guide the movement to the Political Promised Land. Incredible amounts of time, energy, and resources are expended to place "one of our own" in the White House. In 1980, it was Reagan and Clark. In 1988, Kemp and Robertson were the candidates. In 1992, it was Buchanan. Candidates are already jostling for 1996.

It is in the paleo-right's interest to use its limited resources to their full, maximum advantage. Is pursuit of the Presidency the best use of our resources? Or do we have a greater impact by entering races at lower levels?

Robert Taft never lived in the White House, but his influence on the Presidency was tremendous. Taft led the opposition to FDR and Truman, and his advice convinced Eisenhower it would be folly to commit U.S. ground forces to Southeast Asia. Would the Vietnam conflict have occurred if Taft lived? That is an interesting question. The point is that Taft's seat in the U.S. Senate gave him a national platform for his Old Right views.

Today's paleo-right needs similar platforms in Congress and state legislatures across America. The neo-cons will attack us from New York, but our sheer numbers will overwhelm them in the end. There are no elected neo-con legislators, only a handful of "ex"-Trots advising Jack Kemp. The paleo-right should take America back; one state house seat and congressional district at a time. ■

Greg Kaza is a Republican state representative in Michigan.

Warning! On Bret Schundler

by M.N.R.

We should properly rejoice at the smashing victories for conservatives in June—the great triumph of Dick Riordan over the leftist Woo in Los Angeles, and the incredible landslide of Kay Bailey Hutchison over incumbent Senator Bob Krueger in the Texas Senate race. We should be especially jubilant about the abject crumbling of

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Clintonian Democracy that these electoral smashes represent. The horrible Clinton regime is falling apart before our very eyes.

But amidst this rejoicing we should be wary about an alleged triumph that Official Conservatives have been holding up as a model for the future: the May election of young Republican Bret Schundler as mayor of Jersey City, in New Jersey, a Democratic stronghold since 1917 and a city with only 6 percent Republican registered voters. A white stock salesman who worked in Wall St., running in a city where only 26 percent of the voters are white, Schundler was originally elected mayor last November on an admitted fluke. The previous mayor, Gerald McCann, of the corrupt Democrat machine, suddenly wound up in federal prison on fraud charges, and Schundler was the only Republican running among 18 Democratic candidates splitting the vote.

Is it any wonder that Schundler admires, above all, Jack Kemp?

The surprise was Schundler's getting re-elected in May against the Democratic machine candidate, and by a 2-to-1 margin. The Official Conservatives claim that Schundler won because he ran against the deficits and high taxes that had wrecked Jersey City, and that Schundler managed to pass a balanced budget before his re-election without raising taxes. hence, his being hailed as a conservative Republican *wunderkind*. (Schundler is only 34 years old.)

All this is true, but there's a big problem. For how did Schundler accomplish this feat? By cutting government spending in Jersey City? Not on your tintype. Schundler balanced the budget by aggressively pursuing businesses that had avoided paying their taxes; by enforcing Jersey City's already outrageously high tax rate, he managed to push collection rates up from 78 percent to 90 percent. Not only that: Schundler came up with a slick accounting gimmick that took all the tax liens that the city government had piled up from people who couldn't pay their taxes, and bundled them together as collateral for a municipal bond issue. In short, Schundler balanced the budget by *raising taxes*, though they were *called* other things, such as "greater enforcement" and "borrowing on tax liens."

Rather than a heroic young free marketer and sound fiscal man, young Schundler looks a lot more like the hated Slick Willie.

Is it any wonder that Schundler admires, above all, Jack Kemp? ■

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